000 notable.

797 177 346 [64] The church in Riangkamiê is built with reference to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin, Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the [171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 178 ●243 796 He told much that was interesting. There is in paganism here a need for a girl to be the rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1] tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Wae Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan. 578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed 411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not 511 because they were hungry and need land. And [578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1][See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

● 243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
● 243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far be-
low and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but per-
haps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for ex-
ample, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the rela-
tionship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

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243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that [184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although 842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like 583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

243 Everywhere around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
●[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
●243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

[1] [See bibliography, p. 81, 113 -- Analyst]

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Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

434 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

• 243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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243 177 788 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the others saw that it was good. Now, everyone plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 177 Formerly the people here did not use hoes or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts. 493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 354 178 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, except in rare houses like the kapitan's. The only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 178 The house type has changed here from a larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 178 Women now use bought cloth to make thin kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 753 [304] Men and women wore earrings before, the men ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.